

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 SS-15 NEA-09 AF-06 /085 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2739

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3333

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE POLICY: GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR HUMAN CONTACTS AND
INFORMATION

1. SUMMARY: THIS CABLE REPORTS GROWING WESTERN DESIRE FOR A GLOBAL INITIATIVE WITH THE SOVIETS ON ALL HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION TEXTS, SUGGESTS OPTIONS FOR US ATTITUDE, RECOMMENDS THAT WE ACCEPT GLOBAL INITIATIVE AT LEAST PARTIALLY, AND REQUESTS GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR NATO CAUCUS ON MONDAY, MAY 12. END SUMMARY.

2. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS ARE INCREASINGLY INTERESTED IN PRESENTING TO THE SOVIETS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A GLOBAL TEXT COVERING ALL REMAINING HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBJECTS, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SEVERAL KEY NATO DELS WHO ARE NOT YET CONVINCED SUCH A COURSE WOULD BE WISE. SEVEN EC-NINE DELS, LED BY DANES AND UK, FAVOR GLOBAL APPROACH, WHICH WOULD USE TEXTS ALREADY AGREED IN NATO CAUCUS, AND THUS WOULD BE WITHIN SUBSTANTIVE INSTRUCTIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED THUS FAR. INITIATIVE WOULD BE PRESENTED AS A PACKAGE, WITH ALL HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION PROVISIONS LINKED. IN VIEW OF DANISH AND UK DELS, PACKAGE WOULD NOT BE A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT PROPOSITION; HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO
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SOVIETS THAT IF THEY REJECT IT, PROPOSE SWEEPING CHANGES, OR SEEK

TO DEAL WITH THE TEXTS "A LA CARTE", THE WEST WOULD WITHDRAW THE ENTIRE PROPOSAL AND RETURN TO STEP BY STEP NEGOTIATIONS WITH OBVIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR SPEED OF OVERALL CONFERENCE PROGRESS. NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE HAVE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW FIFTEEN DECISION ON THE PROPOSAL, BUT HAVE SUGGESTED THAT AN OVERALL APPROACH ON HUMAN CONTACTS ALONE WOULD BE MORE PRUDENT AND APPROPRIATE, IN VIEW OF MORE ADVANCED STATE OF NEGOTIATIONS IN THAT SUBJECT AREA. NEUTRALS ALSO FAVOR AN INITIATIVE LIMITED FOR THE TIME BEING TO HUMAN CONTACTS. SOVIETS, WHO INEVITABLY HAVE HEARD OF THE GLOBALIZATION IDEA, APPARENTLY DO NOT LIKE IT AT ALL, AND WOULD PREFER A CONTINUATION OF SUBJECT-BY-SUBJECT NEGOTIATIONS.

4. THOSE WHO FAVOR A GLOBAL APPROACH ARGUE THAT IT WOULD PUT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS TO COME TO REASONABLE TERMS ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND POSSIBLE ALSO INFORMATION AT A TIME WHICH MAY WELL APPEAR TO THE EAST AS THE OPTIMUM MOMENT FOR WORKING OUT A DEAL ON THESE SUBJECTS -- SIX WEEKS PRIOR TO THEIR PREFERRED DATE FOR STATE III, AND TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE NATO SUMMIT WHEN HIGH LEVEL VIEWS ON TIMING WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE FORMED. THE MAIN ARGUMENT AGAINST THE GLOBAL APPROACH IS THAT IT WOULD MAKE IT RELATIVELY EASY FOR THE SOVIETS TO PICK WHAT THEY LIKED, AND CONTINUE NEGOTIATING ON THE REST. IN SHORT WE WOULD FIND OURSELVES NEGOTIATING DOWNWARD FROM OUR FINAL POSITIONS.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, PRESSURES FROM OUR ALLIES AND THE NEUTRALS ARE DEVELOPING FOR SOME SORT OF GLOBAL INITIATIVE, WHICH THEY BELIEVE IS NOW NEEDED TO MOVE THE CONFERENCE FORWARD IN TIME FOR A STAGE III THIS SUMMER. WHILE WE ARE NOT SURE AN OVERALL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION WOULD HAVE THAT EFFECT, THE TIME MAY WELL BE RIGHT FOR A GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS ALONE, WHERE THERE ARE ONLY ONE OR TWO PROBLEMS REMAINING IN THE INTRODUCTORY AND TRAVEL TEXTS. IN ADDITION, IF THE CURRENT TREND CONTINUES WE COULD SHORTLY FIND OURSELVES IN THE POSITION OF BEING THE ONLY HOLDOUT NOT IN FAVOR OF A GLOBAL INITIATIVE OF SOME SORT.

6. IN THIS SITUATION WE SEE THE FOLLOWING OPTIONS FOR A US APPROACH:

A. ACCEPT GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION -- WE WOULD THUS JOIN THE MAJORITY OF OUR ALLIES, AND POSSIBLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ADD A MAJOR PUSH TO CONFERENCE PROGRESS. SINCE OUR SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS WOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE GLOBAL TEXT, THEY WOULD BE PROTECTED. ON THE OTHER HAND SUCH A COMPLEX INITIATIVE MIGHT WELL CONFUSE THE SITUATION AND BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS TO SWALLOW. THEY COULD IN ANY CASE PICK WHAT THEY LIKE AND NEGOTIATE ON THE REST. IN SHORT THIS OPTION MIGHT -- WE EMPHASIZE MIGHT -- PRODUCE FASTEST CONCLUSION OF BASKET III WORK, AND WORST SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS.

B. ACCEPT GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS ONLY -- THIS WOULD SATISFY OUR ALLIES TO A CERTAIN EXTENT AND HAS A REASONABLE CHANCE OF PRODUCING A SATISFACTORY RESULT. IT COULD BE A STIMULUS TO CONFERENCE WORK, AND WOULD BE SIMPLER FOR THE SOVIETS TO DEAL WITH. IT WOULD ALSO ALLOW FOR MORE CAREFUL PREPARATION OF A POSSIBLE GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON INFORMATION AT A LATER DATE. HOWEVER, IT WOULD ANNOY UK, DANES AND OTHER ALLIES WHO ARE INTERESTED IN A RAPID CONCLUSION TO BASKET III.

C. INSIST ON CONTINUING SUBJECT-BY-SUBJECT NEGOTIATIONS -- THIS WOULD BE MOST CAREFUL APPROACH AND WOULD CONFORM TO PREFERENCE SOVIETS HAVE EXPRESSED. HOWEVER, IT WOULD IRRITATE VIRTUALLY ALL ALLIES AND NEUTRALS AND WOULD PROBABLY SLOW THINGS DOWN STILL FURTHER. THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT IT WOULD PRODUCE BETTER RESULTS.

7. OUR PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO ACCEPT OPTION B NOW, WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT A GLOBAL INITIATIVE COULD FOLLOW AT A SOMEWHAT LATER DATE IF HUMAN CONTACTS INITIATIVE IS SUCCESSFUL. SHOULD WE BE COMPLETELY ISOLATED IN PREFERRING THIS COURSE OF ACTION, WE WOULD RECOMMEND ACCEPTING OPTION A, EXPLAINING OUR REASONS FOR DOING SO PRIVATELY TO SOVIETS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON THIS ISSUE IN TIME FOR NEXT NATO CAUCUS MONDAY, MAY 12. ABRAMS

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